2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

to work in the city. Long hours, the difficulties of local transportation, the cost of living in the city, and the fact that many men regularly lived where they worked, often made it better for a man to go to the city alone. Furthermore his parents would expect their daugher-in-law to stay at home and look after them.

The masculinity rates (number of males per 100 females) for four of our groups of families ranged from 105.5 to 108. These figures were only slightly higher than the 105 of the rural non-farm population in the United States. The index of our home industry families was 112, only slightly more than the 111 of the U.S. rural farm population.[5] The U.S. figures for 1930 are used as they correspond with the time of our study.

Age Distribution

The ages given in this study are figured according to the Western rather than the Chinese method of calculating age. According to the Chinese system a child is one year old when born and two years old on the next Chinese New Year. When the study of the 5,255 families was made each person's Chinese age and birthday were recorded. They were also asked the name of the "animal" in the Chinese year cycle to which they belonged. From this the Western age was easily figured. The Western ages for the other groups have been determined by reducing the Chinese age by one year.

The age distribution by five year age groups of the members of the two groups of Chinese families and of the rural farm and rural non-farm population in the United States are shown in Figure 5. The graphs for the two Chinese groups are similar except that the 515 families have a slightly larger proportion under 25 years of age, 53.5 per cent, as compared with 50 per cent for the 5,255 families. The difference is especially large in the under five group. The 515 families reported 15.2 per cent of their members under five; the 5,255 families, 12.4 per cent. We have not been able to discover any reason for the large proportion of young children in the 515 families except the fact that there were no single-person families in that group and a much smaller proportion of the families had from two to five members, 41 per cent as compared with 51.3 per cent of the 5,255 families.

5. U.S. Census.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER V

Family Budgets

511 THE DAILY accounts and records of 34 farm families give a sample of rural family budgets and figures that are at least suggestive of the way the farm families in different income levels divided their expenditure, the kinds and amounts of food included in their diet, the types and value of their housing, the relation between the amount of income and the size of the family group.

Almost no farm families keep such records, so it was necessary for our field workers to persuade a group of families to keep them for us. Since most of the families were illiterate, it also was necessary to persuade them to report their daily income and expenditure to a writer who called regularly to make the entries in the record.

As our study of 400 farms[1] showed that 76 per cent of the farm produce was used by the farm family and that the money they handled was only a small part of their real income and expenditure, it was necessary to have the families report the amounts and value of the farm produce used from day to day, as well as any money income and expenditure. This required actual weighing of the food used, at least until a reasonable basis of estimating the amount used was established and understood. Periodic weighings were also used to check the accuracy of the reports.

805 511 Because of the seasonal nature of some of the income and expenditure, it was necessary to continue the accounting for a full year. Since the lunar year was still in general use, the families felt that they had completed the year's record when they had finished 12 lunar, rather than 12 solar months. The difference between the two years is some 11 days, 3.1 per cent. Generally we have taken the records as written and based our tables on the lunar year. For the annual food consumption figures,

1. See Chapter III.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1964 AF12 North China AF12

however, the reported amounts have been increased by enough to put them on the solar rather than the lunar year basis.

It is fully realized that there are many chances for error in this type of accounting, especially when it covers the period of a year and when, because of literacy problems, the entries have to be made by someone outside of the family. Previous experience with a similar study of the budgets of city families[2] made it possible to foresee and provide for some of the problems. We were able to enlist the cooperation and assistance of the village heads. The records were made, not by an outsider, but by one of the villagers. In spite of all we could do, a considerable number of families dropped out during the year. For some others the record was so evidently incomplete that they had to be eliminated. Fifty-five families started the study but only 34 completed the year's record.

A small group of 34 families that, because of the requirements of the study, had to be chosen on a highly selective basis cannot be called average for all of Ting Hsien, but the general consistency of the figures, when the families are divided into groups according to the amount of their income, is such that it is felt that the income group figures give a very informative picture of the way the rural families of different income levels divided and used their income and furnish a basis for comparison with similar figures from other areas. It is also felt that the record figures are much more accurate than those that could be secured from estimates, by the head of the family, of the previous year's expenditures.

The first of our families began its account on the first of the first month of 1928, a few more families were added the next month, but most of the group began in the third month and continued through the second month of 1929. There was a leap second month in 1929, but it was not included in our study.

The families lived in Chai Ch'eng, Hsiao Liu, and Tung T'ing. These villages were all in the Experimental District. The problem of finding available writers as well as families willing to cooperate in our study made it advisable to work in three neighboring villages rather than in one center. Three men took care of the necessary account keeping.

All of the 34 families were land owners. Seven held land under

2. Sidney D. Gamble, *How Chinese Families Live in Peiping* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1933).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AP12 North China AF12

to the younger members of the family and kotow to the elder members. 527
The bow was more and more taking the place of the kotow.

Everyone in China is one year older on New Year's Day. [805]

On New Year's some families endeavored to foretell the weather for the coming year. On New Year's eve they put twelve white beans into small holes cut into a wheat stalk that had been split in half. The wheat straw was then tied together with a cord and put into the water jar, where it was left over night. When it was taken out, the next morning, it was opened and the beans were examined. If any of the beans were found to be soaked with water it was believed that the corresponding month of the year would have a heavy rainfall. Dry beans were thought to foretell months with little rainfall.

Following New Year's day was the time for visits with friends and relatives who lived at a distance. A bride was regularly invited to return then to her home for a visit that would last beyond the fifteenth of the month. 574 527

All sorts of games were enjoyed during the New Year season. In many villages, it was a time when there was a great deal of gambling. Officially, there was a law against gambling with the penalty running as high as a fine of $100 or $200. It generally had been customary for this restriction to be greatly relaxed, if not entirely removed, for all or part of the New Year's holiday. In some cases, the time of relaxation was fixed by the magistrate, sometimes by the village heads. One village might have ten days of freedom while another nearby village had only five days. In Chai Ch'eng no gambling was allowed at any time. 527 525

The New Year season ended with the Lantern Festival, which was celebrated on the 14th and 15th of the first month. The dragon lanterns were often brought out and carried through a series of dances for the enjoyment of the people. Athletic groups gave exhibitions and yang ke, planting songs, were often given on a stage. 527 777

On the 15th of the first month the women and girls wore cedar twigs in their hair to help them avoid lice.

On the 16th of the first month, the first working day of the year, it was customary for employers to provide a feast for their workers so that they might celebrate together.

Hair cutting was generally not done during the first month as, done at that time, it was thought to bring bad luck to one's maternal uncle.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

one of the duck-raising families has a brother in the village who is a good farmer. Members of the families of these two brothers seldom see each other in spite of their kinship tie.

The woolen factory in the market-town attracts several female- as well as male-workers from this village. Several sons of P'ing-chiao-tsun families have also been attracted to the city factories. But so far the effect of industrialization upon family life is not observable. Perhaps the time is still too short for these families to feel the effect. Also recently, a Mr. Y- has brought into the village a few machines for woolen manufacture. Workers, males and females, adults and children, are attracted from P'ing-chiao-tsun itself and other villages. Industrialization is surely taking place, and another couple of years will tell its effects.

As to consumption habits, the village folks have begun to smoke cigarettes from city factories. The cloth for clothing is no longer home-spun but comes from city factories as well. The tea-leaves and the household utensils come from places far away. P'ing-chiao-tsun has no electric light and its people cannot afford to visit movie houses. Members of the upper family are exceptions, but their habits and manners have no effect on the rest.

Naturally, the school and the political bodies, previously mentioned, are agents of urbanization. Our student- and faculty-investigators are also urban agents. While we do not look queer to the villagers, nevertheless they are interested in our habits of living and very often keep on asking for details about them.

The last but not the least important is the changing conception of time in the minds of the villagers. While time-clocks may still be regarded as decorations, the people have begun to use them to count their time in hours if not in minutes. The three counts of morning, afternoon and evening are getting too simple for them.

Meanwhile, the city of Peiping is changing toward an industrial urbanism. Thus the process of urbanization in P'ing-chiao-tsun is both old and new. While the residents of the city might have abandoned their old ways, the village folks may still keep them. But the new ways are surely coming, slow as they may be. The structure of this village may be different from that of an American rural community,[29]

29 Charles J. Galpin, Rural Life, New York, 1923; J. H. Kolb and Edmund de S. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes, Boston and New York, 1940.

In most parts of China, age is counted differently from that 805 in western countries. The general rule for calculating age in this country is that a person on reaching the first day of a new year will automatically increase his age by one year, no matter on what day of the year he was born. Thus, if two persons are born in the same year, both will be considered as two years of age on the new year's day of the following year; it is immaterial if the birthday of one falls on the first day, and that of another falls on the last day, of the year. It will be seen that the Chinese method of calculating age ignores altogether the actual duration of life and takes the passing of the new year alone as the basis of calculation. There is no doubt that this way of calculation, while saving the trouble of remembering one's birthday, is far from being accurate and often leads to an erroneous conception of age. Take the extreme case of a child born at 11.00 p.m. on the new year's eve, for instance; he will be considered two years old at 1.00 a.m. on the new year's day whereas, in fact, he is only two hours old! By assuming it to be two years, he has, so to speak, cheated two years minus two hours which he did not live.

805 128 In conducting the present inquiry, effort had been made to ascertain the actual age of the members of various families. But as some families were rather disinclined to supply information on the birthdays of their members, and some others were unable to furnish knowledge of the matter, the effort had to be abandoned. The ages of various persons were therefore accepted as told and in order to adjust them to the number of years they had actually lived for purposes of computing the adult equivalent, all the ages were uniformly reduced by one year each. For lack of a better and more exact method of calculation, and assuming that all the reported ages on the average exceeded their actual ages by one year each, the reduction as is here adopted may be said to be the only practicable way of calculating the Chinese age.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

804 If the Chinese practice of calculating age gives rise to an erroneous conception of one's actual duration of life, then the